1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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elders having great weight, and, as I shall subsequently point out, even the women are not excluded from a share in the politics of the tribe.

Though more or less dominated by the numerous conquerors who have successively, for three thousand years, overrun those regions which are now called Kūrdistan, the Kūrds have never ceased to own a distinct nationality. Since the Ottoman conquest they have been constantly wavering between the two rival powers of Islam—the Sunnis and the Shias, as represented by the Turks and the Persians respectively, siding, according to the exigencies of the time, now with one party and now with the other. Notwithstanding their sufferings in the destructive wars of conquest waged for centuries by Turk and Persian, and the constant internal feuds fomented by both those nations in order to weaken the power of the Kūrdish warriors, they still maintain a sort of semi-independence, preserving their nationality as distinct from that of their neighbours as in earlier days, though possessing no dynasty, political constitution, ancient religion, historical traditions, or literature, to bind them together.

Three times during the present century have national aspirations incited them to throw off the Turkish yoke; but owing to the immense extent of mountainous country over which they are scattered, their successes have been but partial and nugatory. Representatives as they probably are of the ancient Chaldeans, no other race has, perhaps, so long preserved its nationality under conditions so unfavourable.

against this people and, in many instances, their ignorance or mendacity. This may be seen from one of the more recent examples: 114

> Some of them are farmers and shepherds, but most of them are robbers. If a Kurd has not killed six or seven men, he is not respected and considered unworthy to live. My father once told me a story he heard from one of the Kurdish chiefs. He said he had a son who was very bashful, and this was considered quite a disgrace, for one of these chiefs is always made leader in case of war. It would also be impossible for him to marry one of the best girls unless he was a successful thief and robber. He carries with him a gun and a sword, and no matter how bloody or evil the deed he commits may be, it only adds respect and honor to his name.[1] [181]

The sanguine reputation is not wholly without reason. In older times the Kurdish chieftains were not above plundering expeditions from their mountains and in recent years have proven incorrigible revolutionists, for reasons which will be considered in this study. This has not endeared them to their co-religionists among the Arabs, Iranians, and Turks. Secondly, many Kurds served in the Hamidiya, the irregular bodies of reactionary troops organized by the Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid to crush incipient liberal and nationalistic movements in the tottering Ottoman Empire, and the Armenians and other Christians who suffered from their depredations, as well as missionaries and spokesmen in Europe, have been loud in their denunciation of the Kurdish nation as a whole. Lastly, the blood feud and brigandage are well known in Kurdistan itself. The first is not concerned with outsiders, but acts to emphasize a bloodthirsty reputation, and the 579 669 648 702 648 579 [628]

[1] Nuwaya, 1913, p. 193.

I had only a little, so they started whipping me." 159
"How much did they take?" the Cossack officer asked. 792
"Fifty tumans," he answered, and the officers ordered the other Jews to pay the sum unless they wanted to be beaten also.

When the Russians came to Rowanduz, my family fled to Erbil. I was then about twenty years of age. My father lost all his wealth and became destitute. I told him not to worry, because I would find him the best possible livelihood. I went to a barbershop belonging to a man named Amin. He was shaving one man and another was waiting his turn. I told the customer waiting to be seated, equipped myself with a razor and a towel, and began shaving him. "Who are you and what are you doing?" Amin asked me. "This is not your affair," I answered. "What?" he shouted, "Get out of here. I do not want you." "If you do not want me," I said, "I want you." He was pleased with this answer, and kept me with him for some time. Gradually the war caused things to become worse, and the customers disappeared. I had to have money for my family, so I bought a sack and filled it with coloured sand. I went through [755] the streets of Erbil crying, "Doctor! Doctor! I can cure all illnesses!" People asked me to come into their houses, but I refused until they paid a fee. When I received the money, I went in and poured my sand on the face of the sick man, reciting from the [727] Quran. I gave these sums to my father, but the Turks marched him and my brother to Turkey and they were never seen again. I managed to escape this march.

When the war ended, the British came to Iraq. I was then in the service of a notable named Hajji Nawras in Shaqlawa. There was a Major Hay in the district who spoke Kurdish, and, when he heard from Hajji Nawras what a clever man I was, he took me with him to Rowanduz. He gave me the job of giving food to 200 families of Rowanduz I had known in my childhood. While I was working for the British, all [669] of the Kurds revolted under Shaykh Mahmud and I ran away to Erbil again. On my return to Rowanduz, I opened a tea-shop, but the business failed. After that I opened a shop to sell roasted meat, but the work was too dirty for me. Finally I went to an 443 Armenian merchant named Jagmur, and he entrusted me 159 with goods worth 2000 rupees to sell in the villages 792 around Rowanduz. When I returned, I found I had 200 rupees profit. I took this money to Jagmur, and he said that because I was industrious and honest I could keep it as a gift. I made several other trips for Jagmur, always profitable, but I found traveling for this purpose bothersome. I took my money and opened a shop in Rowanduz to sell groceries. When

people for burial, to perform circumcision, to fire the gun for Ramadan, to play the tambourine, to assist at ceremonies of all sorts, and to help people. I can cure illnesses by my own medicines. I have now left everything in this world which is bad, and have started my prayers. 159 792 [767]

Sayyid Hosani, of whom Hajji Mustafa speaks above, was one of the most distinguished residents of Rowanduz, although not a native of the town. He died some years ago, and his house is still pointed out. Sayyid Hosani was not directly concerned in the feud between Muri Dawil Agha and Isma'il Beg, although he was an adherent of the latter, but was closely bound up with Kurdish revolutionary activities. He was a writer, and operated the first Kurdish press in Iraq. The investigator possesses a postage stamp of the "Government of Southern Kurdistan," printed by Sayyid Hosani for the short-lived "state" of Shaykh Mahmud. Sayyid Hosani was engaged in a number of enterprises, some of them questionable from the government's point of view, and Hajji Mustafa, although he neglected to mention the fact, was one of his men. Hajji Mustafa also failed to relate how, during the second World War, he and several other adventurers procured police uniforms and levied customs duties from lorries going from Iran to Iraq at a point several miles in advance of the real customs station. The drivers were surprised to have to pay their tolls a second time and there was an investigation, but Hajji Mustafa escaped indictment. This exceptional man, who, in the course of his life, had been a barber, government employee, highwayman, itinerant trader, merchant, mukhtar, muleteer, owner of a tea-shop, 159 [628] [669] [205] [579] [651] 159 463

but the whole structure of society, tribal and feudal, which was only lightly touched by Ottoman rule has been challenged by the modern state. 177

Coupled with the impingement of the state, represented by the monarchy of Iraq, has been the question of Kurdish nationalism. The concepts of this movement are clearly a European importation. They were learned by educated Kurds, officials, officers, and teachers, of the late Ottoman Empire, probably from similarly-affected Arabs, Armenians, Greeks, and other subjects of the Sublime Porte. These Kurds, drawn from the higher ranks of Ottoman society, carried nationalism to the people, and something of their success is indicated by the fact that it is difficult to find a Kurd in the rural areas who is not voluble in political matters. Nationalism, with its extravagant vocabulary, found easy listeners in the Kurdish aristocracy. If their administrative functions were to be usurped by the government and the economic exploitation of the commoners eliminated, the chieftains were to become superfluous, although perhaps none of them said this explicitly. The Kurdish aristocracy, whose lives had been oriented around the vendetta and who led a well-armed population, reacted differently than the impotent noblemen of Tchekov's Cherry Orchard or Keyserling's Abendliche Haeuser. The first general revolt under Shaykh Mahmud took place in 1922 and the second in 1930. A third occurred in 1932, and the last, that of Mulla Mustafa, at the close of the second World War. 668 668 669

Between these dates there were many other incidents, for example, the assassination of the dictator of Iraq, General Sidqi, by a Kurd in 1937. In neighboring countries, there was a general insurrection of the Kurds in Turkey in 1925 and one in Syria in 1937. The revolt in Iraq in 1930 was common to Turkey and Iran, and that of Mulla Mustafa to Iraq and Iran. All of these were put down with difficulty, and demanded the use of aircraft, armored vehicles, artillery, and, in some cases, European troops. The states were often aided by quarrels among the Kurdish chieftains. It is interesting that the Kurds regard these conflicts with the government in the same light as tribal warfare of the type which arises from the vendetta. It has been noted how brigands and other outlaws frequently have their own private blood feuds with the authorities. Mulla Mustafa was largely driven from Iraq, not by the army, but by Mahmud Beg of the Baradost who had a personal grudge against the Barzani chief and his followers.

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In order to appreciate the place of Rowanduz in this process, it is necessary to review its position. The town, as has been said, is non-tribal and, although the House of Isma'il Beg owns much of its property, is not ruled by any overlord. In this way it has been assimilated without difficulty into the economic system of the state, as opposed to that of the tribe or feudalism. All of its lands have been surveyed and classified, and the taxes are collected directly from the inhabitants. As an administrative center

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5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

timate capacity of 150,000 Kw.) is to be completed in 1958 at Dibis on the Little Zab to serve all northern Iraq.

Two of the most widely advertized major projects of the development programme, the great dams at Dukan on the Little Zab and Darband-i Khan on the Sirwan, are located in Kurdistan and are bringing some temporary benefit to the neighbourhood in the form of wages for labour. But their purpose is first and foremost the protection of Baghdad from flood, and the secondary benefits from storage of water will accrue to the lands down stream. Up stream considerable areas of agricultural land will be submerged and many villages are doomed to destruction. The government is understood to be fully alive to the necessity of tackling the delicate problem of compensating and finding new land for the dispossessed cultivators with foresight and generosity, and of balancing these large spectacular works with lesser projects in the upland valleys which will be of more direct and permanent value to the local people. Failure in this regard might well lead to unrest.

III.

The Kurds have not remained unaffected by the rising tide of nationalism that has swept over the countries of the Middle East since the turn of the century; and to understand the attitude of the Kurds of Iraq to the central government of Baghdad we must cast a brief glance backwards over the history of the region both before and after 1918.

In spite of the centralizing policies of the Ottoman and Persian governments a number of quasi-autonomous Kurdish principalities survived in both countries until about the middle of the 19th century. Two of the princely families are intimately connected with the development of Kurdish nationalism: the Badr Khans of Bohtan (still in Turkey) with their capital at Jazirat ibn Umar (now Cizre), and the Babans of Sulaimani. It is not easy to fix on any particular date or circumstance as marking the beginning, or even a turning point, in the development of Kurdish nationalism in the modern sense. Throughout the 19th century, both before and after the suppression of the principalities, there were of course frequent revolts against the central authority in which the leaders did not fail to appeal to racial sentiment in order to rally their followers. Modern nationalism, unlike earlier manifestations of a similar spirit, tend to attach tremendous importance to language. It would be tempting then to suggest that some particular significance attached to the year 1892, when members of the Badr Khan family began the publication of a newspaper called *Kurdistan*, numbers of which appeared at intervals until 1902 in towns as far apart as Cairo, London and (of all unlikely places) Folkestone, England. But in 1892 Hajji Qadir of Koi (*circa* 1817-1894),

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

175 negative votes cast. No representative from either *liwa* attended the 668 accession ceremonies.

648 A difficult situation had been further complicated by the promulgation in January, 1920, by the Turkish Cabinet of a manifesto known as the 'National Pact' which, while conceding the right to self-determination of the Arabs south of the armistice line of 1918, refused to contemplate the surrender of the Mosul vilayet. The Treaty of Sèvres, signed by the representatives of the Sultan nine months later, was never ratified. For the next five years the Kurds were subjected to a campaign of intensive propaganda from Turkey: threats of invasion, clandestine correspondence with urban and tribal leaders, open incitements to rebellion, warnings to 'traitors,' and pervading all, the religious appeal for loyalty to the Sultan-Caliph (until the Caliphate was abolished in March 1924). Small bodies of uniformed Turkish troops actually crossed the border at various points in support of the restless tribes. The administrative boundary in Arbil and parts of Mosul was withdrawn to the edge of the plains, and in September, 1922, the whole of Sulaimani was evacuated. Shaykh Mahmud was brought back in return for an undertaking that he would secure the expulsion of the Turks from the *liwa* and that he would refrain from interfering in the neighbouring *liwas* of Kirkuk and Arbil. But in the intoxicating mountain air these promises were soon forgotten: [669] in November the Shaykh proclaimed himself 'King of Kurdistan,' claimed the whole country down to the Jabal Hamrin as part of his 'Kingdom,' and so far from expelling the Turks sought to use their presence as a lever to press his ambitions. In December the British and Iraqi governments, hoping to rally the more moderate Kurds to resist the aggressor, made a joint communication to certain friendly leaders recognizing 'the right of the Kurds of Iraq to set up a Kurdish government' which should send responsible delegates as soon as possible to discuss boundaries and political and economic relations; but there was nobody capable of taking advantage of the offer, which lapsed.[2]

The prevailing uncertainty and unrest were actually aggravated by the signature at Lausanne in July, 1923, of a Treaty of Peace between the Allies and Turkey, for it specifically excluded the Mosul question from the settlement. In August, 1924, the dispute was referred to the League of Nations. A Commission was sent to examine the problem on the spot, and, in December, 1925, the Council awarded the vilayet to Iraq subject to guarantees that regard would be paid to the 'desires expressed by the Kurds that officials of Kurdish race should be appointed

[2] The activities of Shaykh Mahmud necessitated a series of air and military operations in the years that followed; Sulaimani town itself was reoccupied by the Iraqi Army in July, 1924; but the Shaykh continued to harry the administration until June, 1927, when he submitted. He took up arms again in 1930 in sympathy with the imprisoned intellectuals (see below) but gave himself up in 1932.